

"To thine own self be true, and it must follow,"



as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man."

BY ROBERT YOUNG & CO.

WALHALLA, S. C., FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1868.

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## Communications.

FOR THE KEOWEE COURIER.

GEORGE'S CREEK CHURCH, PICKENS CO.,  
August 1, 1868.

The George's Creek Democratic Club met this day, pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded to business by the Vice-President, JOHN BOWEN, taking the chair.

JOHN R. GOSSETT offered the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted unanimously:

WHEREAS, we recognize the great and important issues involved in the Presidential election—that we appreciate the fact that if the Democratic nominees are elected, that peace, order, prosperity, low taxes and a white man's government, will be once again secured to us; that their defeat will continue us under negro domination; and in all probability entail upon us increased oppression from non-radical governments, both State and Federal: therefore, be it

Resolved, 1st. That it is the paramount and incumbent duty of all Democrats and Conservative people throughout the land, to use all honorable means to secure the election of Seymour and Blair to the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States.

Resolved, 2d. That this Club hold a mass meeting and picnic at some time and place to be determined by this meeting.

Resolved, 3d. That the chairman of this meeting do appoint twelve gentlemen to act as a committee of arrangements to make the necessary preparations for the said mass meeting and picnic; also that he appoint four gentlemen to act as a committee of correspondence and invitation, whose business it shall be to secure the attendance of Democratic speakers.

Resolved, 4th. That we cordially invite all Democratic Clubs, in this and adjoining Districts and all good people to attend our mass meeting.

On motion of E. H. BARTON, Thursday, the 27th day of August, and the George's Creek Church, was fixed as the time and place for holding our mass meeting and picnic.

The Chairman appointed the following named persons as the Committee of arrangement: D. Grice, John Spencer, Calvin McMahon, Thos. J. Bowen, Jesse McMahon, E. H. Barton, John M. King, Warren Hamilton, Thos. Granger, Pleasant Hawkins, O. H. C. Smith, R. B. Bowen and L. S. Brazeale; and as Committee on Correspondence and Invitation, John R. Gossett, R. E. Holcombe, G. W. McMahon and R. Lohardt.

Moved and adopted that the Secretary read the Constitution of this Club, and open his books for the enrollment of members. Twenty-three new names were added.

Moved and adopted that W. H. Holcombe and W. S. Smith be added to the above-named Committee of Arrangements.

Moved and adopted, that the Secretary read the Platform and Principles promulgated by the National Democratic Convention for the information of those present who may not have seen it, which he proceeded to do to the manifest approbation of all present.

G. W. McMahon offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the delegates from this Club to the next meeting of the Central Club, are instructed to vote for the ratification of the Democratic nominees for President and Vice-President, and the Platform of Principles.

Moved and adopted, that the Secretary furnish the Editor of the "Keowee Courier" and the Greenville papers with a copy of the proceedings of this meeting, and that they are requested to publish the same.

No further business being brought before the meeting, it adjourned, to meet again on Saturday, the 15th instant, at 4 o'clock, at the George's Creek Academy.

JOHN BOWEN, Chm'n.  
JOHN R. GOSSETT, Sec'y.

The following letter from the Acting Commissioner will prove interesting to fruit distillers:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

OFFICE OF INTERNAL REVENUE,  
Washington, August 4, 1868.

Sir: In reply to your letter of July 28, you are informed that distillers of fruit are required to pay a special tax of \$400, under the new law, as well as the tax of fifty cents per gallon upon the spirits produced.

You will be furnished with the regulations containing the exemptions allowed distillers of brandy from apples, peaches or grapes, exclusively, now in course of preparation, as soon as they are published. Very respectfully,

THOMAS HARTLAND,

Acting Commissioner.

A. S. WALLACE, Esq., Col. 8d S. O. Dist., Columbia.

## POLITICAL.

Letter from Hon. J. P. Campbell.

CHARLESTON, August 3, 1868.

To Frederick A. Ford, Esq., Chairman Executive Committee Aiken Democratic Club.

DEAR SIR—I have delayed to the latest moment a reply to your letter of the 28th ultimo, hoping I might be able to accept your invitation to be present at Aiken to-morrow, to witness your "barbecue to the colored people, and listen to General Hampton and the other prominent speakers from this State and Georgia, whom you expect." I regret to say I find my engagements such that I will not be able to leave the city during the week; I must, therefore, forego the pleasure you so kindly offer. It will be a most interesting occasion. Its purpose is one I have profoundly at heart. Next to the rescue and restoration of our country and its constitution and laws from the sacrilegious hands laid upon them for destruction—next to the emancipation of my own race from the odious and vulgar slavery contrived and being attempted by traitors to their country, their lineage and to civilization—I have at heart the welfare and advancement in prosperity and happiness of the colored race. Our conscientious and laborious attention to this purpose is as much a duty to be discharged as the obligation of a debt. We owe it to ourselves for the sake of ourselves. It comes to us from the past, and we owe it for the sake of our children and our country. And more sacred than all, we owe it to the present, for the wonderful loyalty of the colored man to his owner and his owner's cause during the temptations of the war;—and, considering the natural invitation to excesses given by sudden emancipation, and by the seductions and character of the adventurers whose influence he was open to, we owe something for his conduct since the war.

In my judgment he is the best friend of the colored man who most practices towards him material aid, teaching him the way to prosperity through thrift, industry and education, and who entices him least into the field of politics; than which, there is nothing more corrupting to persons like him, just emerging from a condition of pupillage. True, the discussion of political subjects with the colored man is at present forced upon us. The circumstances in which we are placed, leave us no choice. It is a necessity. But I would not extend the field of discussion beyond the limit of actual necessity. I would make him no promises which I might not be sure can and will hereafter be performed; I would hold out no hopes to him, which I might not believe there will be a reasonable expectation of being realized. I would tell him, truthfully and frankly, that his present political supremacy will not be and cannot be permanent. That the worthless adventurers, who cajole and deceive him to advance themselves, and, like a nightmare, press their heavy weight upon us, know this. They have never intended or expected the substantial and permanent advancement of the colored man. They aspire to use him, and, for their own selfish purposes, to array him in hostility against those with whom he was born and has lived, till we shake off their suffocating embrace, when they will, like the oppressive spirit I have likened them to, take their flight and seek more genial regions. I would tell the colored man, that, whether they shall succeed in this purpose to place him in hostility to us and then leave him, is for him to choose and decide. If he prefers to trust his future to the uncertain contents of their carpet-bags, rather than accept peaceful and abundant homes on the fertile fields of his nativity—(fields which those false friends first promised, but have failed to give to him)—then it shall not be said, in the day of his tribulation, that we did not fairly tell him in advance of the fate that waits on that choice. That fate will be his progressive degradation instead of elevation, and the gradual but certain extinction of his race—just as the Indian, who once roved supreme lord of this mighty land, has passed away.

We can promise and assure to him equality with ourselves in the protection of all his rights of property and person under the law, because while we had the power we gave all that, and we intended it. There is no more healthful power in a nation, or a community, than a thrifty, industrious, educated, moral and religious, free, rural, laboring population. The safety of government and of capital rests securely upon such a population. Such labor creates capital. Capital nurtures and encourages such labor. There is a mutual and harmonious reliance each upon the other.

We can promise, and not fear failure of the promise, to the colored man, to exert all the power we have to make his people such a population, giving all the encouragement which the law and its just and faithful administration can assure, and all the aid which the discreet and sagacious application of capital to labor can give to elevate them to a position so

enviable, and save the American portion of his race from extinction. When that time arrives, they may have a just right to participate in political affairs, and may enjoy it. But we can now, at this time, in good faith, make to him any promises of political concessions I very much doubt it. It is a grave question, and is to be gravely answered; and if we are to retain one particle of self-respect, it must be answered honestly and truthfully. At present we are without power, and have nothing to give; we can only promise; but we know that late or soon, and we believe very soon, the power to redeem what we promise, with all its responsibilities, will be upon us.

I have said that the adventurers who guide the present misrule, know it is not durable. Its authors, who sent them here, did not and do not intend to give to the colored race the permanent enjoyment of political power. They did intend and do intend to use them for the acquisition of power for themselves, which otherwise they could not obtain or expect—and after that to leave their deluded victims to their fate. Their reconstruction means among controlling men of their party nothing more than the pending Presidential election. What I say does not rest upon my opinion or assertion. The doom of this misrule has been solemnly adjudged and recorded. The great Atlantic States, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey—the Pacific States, California, Oregon—the mighty West, her river and lake States, Ohio, Michigan (even Michigan, intensely, hopelessly Radical), Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, proclaim with one mighty, united voice, that the white man shall, and the colored man shall not, participate in and control the government of this country. They have pronounced that it shall be "a white man's government," and their voice is potential. But they have said that upon this question each State is free to speak for itself. Who, then, and what are the States? Alas! that there should be need of such a question. There was once a South Carolina—she was a State and had a history. Her history remains, and, I hope, will ever remain in the perpetual memory of men. The destroyer came, and there is now no South Carolina State. I do not venture to call that limping, tottering experiment set up by bayonets, now on exhibition at Columbia—the shame and ridicule of the nation—a STATE.

"Men, high-minded men,  
With powers as far above dull brutes endowed.  
As beasts excel cold rocks and blemished rude;  
Men who their duties know, and knowing dare maintain,  
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain;  
These constitute a State."

Such men are not to be found in the swagging exhibition at Columbia, which calls itself the State. The people of the great States which I have named are at this moment united with us in the most eventful election this country has ever witnessed. It is a life and death struggle for the restoration of the constitution and the Union it created—for the revival and preservation of the stifled judicial department of the government—for the re-establishment of the Constitutional Executive power, now reduced by progressive usurpations of the legislative branch to the mere "shadow of a name."

With us, beyond all this, the struggle is for political life, for country, for civilization, for relief from the bondage to which the love of power and the hatreds, not the purposes, of the war have subjected us. With our friends in those States, the struggle is to save themselves from a military despotism seen in the brief distance of the future, or from the present vulgar tyranny of a corrupt and forewarned Congress. They seek to avoid the fate of the ancient Samnites, who, failing both in courage to destroy, and in magnanimity to be generous, to a conquered enemy, stripped and degraded under the yoke their Roman captives. Their reward was the same yoke, measured by the same measure, and final ruin. In this great contest we can give but little, if any, aid to our friends; if our vote is against them, it will be declared legal and counted for our enemies. If it is for them, it will be declared illegal, as in truth it will be, and will not be counted. Such is the Radical intention.—Good faith then, and all the proprieties of our position, require of us to be cautious, that we do not risk doing injury or causing embarrassment. There is less danger from saying or doing too little than from saying or doing too much. That which is left unsaid to-day may be said to-morrow—what is said to-day cannot be unsaid to-morrow. Nothing would add more to my mortification and pain at the close of the present canvass, if it should end in defeat, than to have it said I had, by any word or act of mine, added a feather's weight to the heavy burden our friends undertake in their battle for justice and salvation to the South, before the disordered public sentiment of the North and West. Victory—nothing short—might console me for the mortification that it was won in spite of the em-

barrassments I gave. I shall not, therefore, by any word or act during the canvass, diverge from what I understand to be the sentiment of those States which I have named upon the subject of suffrage or the political disabilities or rights of the colored man. My judgment is that, as a question of policy, mere campaign strategy, it is unwise to make, at this time, any offers or promises on the subject. It belongs to the future—not the present. When, immediately after the war, President Johnson, in 1865, suggested to Governor Orr, to myself, and to others that it might be well for the State, in advance of any attempt to interfere with this question, to step forward and give a qualified suffrage to the colored man, I acceded to it as a measure of discreet policy at that time. I would not, at this time, make that or any other offer or promise upon the subject. It was not then approved or seconded by others.

But instead the basis of representation was itself narrowed, so that the colored man, under the constitution of 1865, was no longer what he had always been before, a part of the basis of representation. This was achieved by the votes and influence of Governor Orr and Judge Moses over the opposition of Chief Justice Dunkin, Judge Inglis, Judge Wardlaw and the late Judge Frost, and other distinguished and influential men. Without them, or either one of them, it could not have been done.

The present happy relations between the colored politicians and Messrs. Orr and Moses may be taken as evidence that the former are by no means unforgiving to those who would exclude them from all representation, thus placing them below the grade of property.

But there is another consideration of this subject, of great and turning weight, if we are free to deal with it at this time. The truth is, the colored politicians have not by their public conduct, since they have held power, recommended themselves to the favorable estimate of their best friends, or of reflecting men generally. They neither assume the administration of power themselves, nor confer it upon such men as they know to be fit and proper. They have done exactly the contrary; they have placed in power men whom they would not themselves trust for a day's wages. If by such courses they expect to gain the confidence or good will of taxpayers, holders of land, of capital, and of substantial people generally—in fact, of whatever constitutes a State—they greatly deceive themselves. If we think such conduct offers a proper opportunity to approach the colored man with concessions, we are, I think, woefully mistaken. Of those who at this time form the *de facto* government of South Carolina, there is not one who might not find his peer and superior among the colored people. Who would not say that DeLarge, Cardozo, Whipper, Wright and Cain are better men than any one of the four members of Congress by them and by their influence inflicted upon the people of this State? Less cannot be said of the colored politicians than that they have failed in fidelity to themselves and to the great body of the people and the property of the State. In their late Convention, in their present Legislature, the colored element was and is vastly superior to the white, not only in numbers, but also in character, in deportment, in education, and in all the elements which make substantial respectability. They, too, were really representatives of something and of somebody. They represent labor and a large population of their own race, and they could, had they been wise, have made themselves the representatives also of capital and the white race. But, as I have said, they failed in fidelity to themselves to the white population, and to the property of the State. The white element of those two bodies represented nothing and nobody but themselves. Neither labor, nor property, nor population, nor learning, nor civilization, can claim them as representatives, and if they had or have constituents, they are far away among the enemies of our own people and of their prosperity. And yet it cannot be denied the colored politicians knowingly and willingly surrender themselves and the power entrusted to them to such keeping. Shall we, then, at a time like the present, and under the circumstances we are in, seek such an alliance? I hope not.

In conclusion, I have a few plain words for the colored people—directly to them—truthfully, if not agreeably. I have a right to advise them, because I am their friend. They know I am. I say to them, then, "You cannot and will not be permitted to participate permanently and substantially in the political power of this country, or any part of it.—Remember what I say. You may be soothed by the illusion of a qualified suffrage. That will be for the educated and the property-holders among you. They are as few that it will give you no power, not even the shadow of it. This is the WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY; it is his government, and he intends to keep both. You cannot and will not hold either,

nor will either be held by others for you.—You may live here if you will, peaceable, happy and prosperous under the protection of our laws, just as we are protected, with no distinction or inequality; but you cannot govern us. You cannot say this is unreasonable or unjust. It is what you say to the white man in your own countries and governments. There is a free and prosperous colored government, a Republic upon the model of our own. It has a President, Senate, House of Representatives and a Judicial Department like ours. From it you have excluded the white man. He is assured of the protection of your laws, just as you are protected by ours, without distinction.—But he has not, and cannot have political power, or vote, or hold office; or participate in the administration of the government.—Such is the republic of Liberia. That is no place for carpet-baggers. There are in that atmosphere no attractions for them. So, also, it is in St. Domingo and Hayti. They are the colored man's governments. And if you will, you, also, may have other governments of your own, but they will not be in the United States. If every white inhabitant of South Carolina—if every white woman or child in the Southern States should consent and agree to it, you would not be permitted by the people of the North and the West to establish a Liberia, or a Dominican, or a Haytian government within the United States. This matter is in their hands, not ours. Nor is there to be any partnership between the white and colored man in the government of this country. There is no middle ground in this matter. The government must be all white or all colored. Do not your pretended friends tell you this, or at least show that they mean this, when they shut you out by their commands or entreaties from Congress where they are for the time supreme?

I know it is said, you are told, you say it too, that the suffrage once given to you and exercised, cannot be taken away. Some of you even threaten that the attempt will be followed by bloodshed. That will be as you may choose. I was once a voter. It was my birth-right. My ancestors, under Washington and his co-peers, thought they had forever secured the right to their descendants.—It has been taken from me. The bayonet, and powder and ball, with the blue coats, did it, and they will do the same for you, when law or the color of law, or the voice of the white people, bids them do it. Our people fought them four years, and we had enough of it. You may try it if you choose.

I shall not fight them or you for my right to vote. It will come without that, and yours will fall with or without it. You trust to your present allies, who forced suffrage upon you, not for your sake, but against us and for their own gain. You think they will stand by you? You are deluded. "Blood is thicker than water." The great masses of the people will stand by us—by their OWN RACE. Your champions will be scattered and powerless exceptions. Mr. Sumner and such warlike heroes as follow such a warlike chief, may sound loud and long and echoing exhortations to battle for you—but they will not be found in the "fortiora hope."

The poor Indian thought as you think when he boasted, as you do, in calm security of his great and powerful allies and friends. England and France in the supremacy of their power and in the infancy of ours, were his allies and friends. They would stand by him in his wars upon us—they purchased from him the scalps of our warriors, our women and our children. And where now, and what is, the Indian?

Do you understand me? I hope you do. You have the opportunity offered to choose between perpetual peace, prosperity and advancement in all the many blessings called civilization, between that and hostility to us, degradation and final extermination. We offer you the former.

The carpet-bagger tempts you to the latter. As your friend, I pray God to give you wisdom in your choice.

Thus would I talk and have our people talk to our colored friends—truthfully, calmly, firmly and honestly.

I am, dear sir, very truly,  
Your friend and obedient servant,  
JAMES B. CAMPBELL.

THE ELECTIONS.—The State election in Kentucky took place on Monday, August 3. Tennessee holds her election ten days later, on the 13th. Vermont follows, on the 1st of September; California on the 8th, and Maine on the 14th of that month; Nebraska on the 6th of October; Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Iowa on the 13th; West Virginia on the 22d; and New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Nevada and Massachusetts elect their State officers on the 3d of November—the day of the Presidential election.

## The Black Man at the South.

The black man, as he stands now, a free man, at the South, is but a laborer, utterly unacquainted with business and laws, and any kind of art above the simplest manipulations of ordinary industry. He has no administrative talents, little foresight, the smallest degree of provident care, and is tempted into extravagance most easily. He is ordinarily gentle and generous: but credulous, superstitious, easily misled and readily inveigled into plots and schemes to gratify animosities implanted by designing persons. While no great portion of men are naturally inclined to industry, the black race are less so than any save the Indian. Yet, if let alone, and made content by kind treatment, directed by good discipline and rules, he is a good laborer—valuable in the field.

This is the freedman of the South. It is plain that such a man must lean upon others able to take care of public order, and direct wisely and prosperously private enterprise and industry. The question is, should he rely for this sort of assistance and protection upon people who reside in another part of the Union, or upon those amongst whom he lives? What interest have those people at the North who desire to control him in his conduct or his welfare beyond his vote at the polls? None. What can they do to better his physical condition? Nothing. They have no occupation for him, and they propose to give him nothing. They only imbue his mind with hostility towards the white people, who are his neighbors, because that is necessary to make him vote as they wish him.—The philanthropist, so-called—the fanatic, in fact—who obtrudes himself upon the negro may have friendly motives towards him; but his officiousness arouses the same unkind feelings in the breast of the colored man towards Southern whites that are incited by two Northern politician and carpet-bagger.

The interference of all these people only brings evil upon the black man, whose welfare they profess to desire. They alienate him from the only people who can really make him comfortable. They begot strife between him and his sincere friends—they who understand his disposition well, and know how to satisfy his wants—and who are, moreover, sincerely disposed to afford him every opportunity for improving his condition and increasing his knowledge.

As long as the outsiders, who are utterly ignorant of the black man's true character, and who really have no idea of doing anything for his permanent physical benefit and comfort, interfere between him and his own Southern white neighbor, there must be alienation and want of harmony between them; in other words, strife—a strife which may not be bloody, but yet disastrous to both. Their mutual interests must suffer by want of co-operation and harmony in the daily economy of life. Production must be as it has been very much curtailed; and there must be a scarcity of money and a scarcity of provisions. Want and distress must follow, and upon whom will it fall heaviest? Upon the black man, who is without means and without a home.

[Richmond Dispatch.]

WANT OF COURAGE.—Sydney Smith, in his work on Moral Philosophy, speaks in this wise of what men lose for the want of a little brass, as it is termed:

"A great deal of talent is lost to the world for the want of a little courage. Every day sends to their graves a number of obscure men who have only remained in obscurity because their timidity has prevented them from making a first effort, and who, if they could only have been induced to begin, would in all probability have gone great lengths in the career of fame. The fact is, that in order to do anything in this world worth doing we must not stand shivering on the bank and thinking of the cold and danger, but jump in and scramble through as well as we can. It will not do to be perpetually calculating risks and adjusting nice chances; it all did very well before the Flood, when a man could consult his friends upon an intended publication for a hundred and fifty years, and then live to see its success for six or seven centuries afterwards; but at present a man waits and doubts, and hesitates, and consults his brother, and his uncle, and his first cousin, and his particular friends, till one day he finds that he is sixty-five years of age, that he has lost so much time in consulting first cousins and particular friends that he has no more time left to follow their advice. There is no little time for over squeamishness at present, the opportunity slips away; the very period of life at which a man chooses to venture, if, as is so confined that it is no bad rule to preach up the necessity, in such instances, of a little violence done to the feeling, and of efforts made in defiance of strict and sober calculation.

They have a girl, lodging house in New York, where supper can be obtained for five cents, and lodgings five cents.